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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 8/82)

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INTERNATIONAL

MAOIST FALSIFIERS OF KIRGHIZ HISTORY ATTACKED

Frunze PROTIV MAOISTSKIKH FAL'SIFIKATSIY ISTORII KIRGIZII in Russian 1981
(signed to press 14 May 81) pp 1-2, 128-140

[Book; introductory paragraph and conclusion from book "Against Maoist Falsifications of the History of Kirghiziya," by M. Ya. Sushanlo, V. T. Gurevich, V.N. Ploskikh, and G. P. Suprunenko, Frunze, Kyrgyzstan, 1981, 140 pp]

[Text] On the basis of a vast amount of historical material, the book examines the history of the relations between China and the peoples who settled Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan from ancient times to the 19th century. Taking account of the work of Soviet historians and of the data of sources, the authors establish the common nature of the economy, culture, and everyday life of the people who settled Kirghiziya in ancient times, how relations between the Kirghiz people and Russia were born and grew stronger, and in what historical-ethnographic situation and under what political circumstances the Russian-Chinese territorial demarcation in Central Asia took place.

Conclusion

The entire path which has been covered by the peoples of Kirghiziya after the Great October Socialist Revolution confirms the correctness of the choice which the Kirghiz people made when it voluntarily accepted citizenship in Russia and tied its fate to it. Despite the colonialist policies of Tsarism, this historic act objectively was an outstanding progressive event in the life of the Kirghiz people. Kirghiziya's voluntary entry into Russia protected it against the external danger from China and helped to dampen inter-tribal warfare. The workers of Kirghiziya joined in the revolutionary struggle of the great Russian people and together with the Russian working class, led by the Leninist party of Bolsheviks, struggled for the overthrow of the power of the landowners, bourgeoisie, and petty feudalists, and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The progressive nature of Kirghiziya's voluntary entrance into Russia also consisted in the fact that the Kirghiz began to experience the influence of advanced Russian culture. Under the influence of capitalism the process was begun of the decomposition of the patriarchal-feudal system and the development of capitalist relations and the formation of a working class.

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Only the Great October Socialist Revolution made it possible for the Kirghiz people to move in such an historically brief period of time from a patriarchal-feudal system right to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development, to overcome its economic and cultural inequality, to build a Soviet national statehood, and to be formed into a socialist nation. This leap is a triumph of the Leninist nationalities policy of the communist party.

In the Summary Report of the CC to the 26th CPSU Congress L. I. Brezhnev emphasized: "From the first years of Soviet power our economic and social policy has been organized in such a way as to lift the former national outlying districts of Russia to the level of development of its center as rapidly as possible. And this task has been successfully achieved. The close cooperation of all of the nations of the country and, above all, the disinterested aid of the Russian people played a most important role here. Today backward national outlying districts . . . do not exist."¹

The accomplishment of this historic task can rightly be placed in the same rank as such victories in the construction of our new society as the socialist industrialization of the country, the collectivization of agriculture, and the cultural revolution. For this reason, at the current stage of social development the further perfection of the new historical community of the Soviet people is taking on especial importance as a necessary condition for the development of socialism into communism in our country.

Along with all of the others, the workers of Soviet Kirghizstan are also making a worthy contribution to the construction of a communist society and to the strengthening of the friendship of peoples.

The strengthening and expansion of the economic basis of the fraternal cooperation of the people of the USSR is testimony to the further strengthening of the moral and political unity of our people. A decisive role is being played in this by such directions of party policy as the development of socialist production relations and their gradual transformation into communist relations, the strengthening of the commonwealth of our people during the course of the joint construction of the material and technical base of communism, and the consolidation of the single national economic complex of our country. The Leninist nationalities policy of our party has always been based on a profound combination of concern for the national development of each people and the growth of the public wealth of our entire multi-nationalist country.

The successes which have been achieved by the workers of socialist Kirghizstan during the years of Soviet power are truly historic. This region of former nomads and primitive agriculture has been transformed into a highly developed industrial and agrarian republic.

During the postwar years large production capacities have been created in the republic. Such highly important branches of industry as nonferrous metallurgy, machine tool building, the electronic, electrical engineering, instrument making, motor vehicle, light, food, and others have been successfully developed. In 1980

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the Kirghiz SSR had 405 large industrial enterprises which represented more than 130 branches producing 3,700 different items of output.

Fixed productive capital is the material base which determines the level of production in any branch. In the republic's economy as a whole, as of the beginning of 1980 it came to 8.5 billion rubles, or 4.2 times more than the 1965 level. In addition, 80% of the productive capital was reconstructed on a new technical basis or created anew during the years 1966-1979 when more than 200 large modern enterprises and shops were put into operation and the gross output of industry increased by 4.6 times, and that of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes by 1.6 times, while national income increased by 2.3 times. Kirghiziya's agriculture is an organic part of the country's total agricultural complex and constantly experiences the beneficial influence of the consistent realization of the party's agrarian policy. During the 8th Five-Year Plan capital investments in agriculture came to 31% of the total capital investments in the republic, during the 9th--32%, and, according to the plan of the 10th Five-Year Plan they were to be 36%. In 1979 the fixed productive capital of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes exceeded the 1965 level by almost three times, and gross output increased by more than 1.5 times.

"The powerful economic and scientific and technical potential which has been created in Soviet Kirghizstan," the First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Kirghiziya T.U.Usubaliyev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "is making it possible today to accomplish qualitatively new economic tasks."²

Of course, such a powerful upsurge in the republic's economy could only be achieved as a result of the joint efforts of the workers of all of our nations and peoples and thanks to the consistent realization of Leninist policies--policies of a correct combination of the interests of each nation with the interests of all of society.

Implementing the decisions of the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses, and taking active part in the All-Union socialist competition for a further increase in production efficiency and improvement of work quality, the republic's workers are achieving large successes in development of its economy, science, and culture and in raising its standard of living.

Representatives from the liberated countries acquaint themselves with great interest with the experience of the social and economic transformations of the first socialist country. In 1971 an international seminar was held in the capital of Kirghiziya, the city of Frunze, on the topic: "The Experience of Agrarian Transformations in the Republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan and Its Significance for the Liberated Countries." The conclusions which generalize the rich experience of the Soviet East will undoubtedly be used in the liberated countries during the course of carrying out the entire complex of socio-economic transformations in them.

Hasan Hafez, the Deputy General Secretary of the Organization for the Solidarity of the Countries of Asia and Africa, made public a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghiziya and the Council of Ministers Kirghiz SSR which

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had been adopted at the seminar and in which it was said that the participants in the seminar had become convinced of the fact that in the harmonious family of Soviet peoples Soviet Kirghiziya had achieved outstanding successes in economic and cultural construction. "The fundamental transformations in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan occurred on such a scale as causes sincere delight," the Vietnamese economist Le Toan stated to journalists. "We are endlessly grateful to the people of Kirghiziya and to all Soviet people for their complete solidarity with the Vietnamese people."

The guests acquainted themselves with the life of the Kirghiz people. During a visit to the kolkhoz "Syntash" the Indian Professor Gogula Partkhasaratkhi stated that the Indian peasant can only dream about such a level of mechanization--Soviet Central Asia could be considered a standard for the developing countries of Asia and Africa.

And hear the words of the general director of the Ministry of Planning of Somalia Jama Rabile: "We can rightly call the seminar a school in the new life. I see the future of my country in the present-day republics of Central Asia."

Seriously upset by such a revolutionizing influence on the liberated peoples from the graphic example of the national development of Soviet Asia, the imperialists and their ideological underlings, together with whom the Maoists are singing in the general chorus, are attempting to falsify the history of the Soviet Central Asian republics. Our ideological opponents are increasingly spreading malicious slanderous assertions about "Soviet colonialism" in Central Asia, about the forced Russification of the Central Asian peoples, including the Kirghiz people, and about the allegedly unequal position of the Central Asian republics in the Soviet Union. But here is what the prominent French journalist Henri Bordazh who visited Kirghiziya has said: "Kirghiziya became socialist rather recently. And we can understand what enormous difficulties had to be overcome and that far from all of them were of a purely material nature. All of the peoples of the Soviet Union gave Kirghiziya great and measureless assistance in order for it to become a modern country. That which has been accomplished in such a short period of time resembles a miracle, a socialist miracle. Here, as in any other place, one can see with what respect the Soviet state regards the distinctive characteristics of each union republic. To those who in the West irresponsibly speak about 'Soviet colonialism,' I can give no better advice than the following: 'Visit Kirghiziya.'"³

With the cultural flowering of ancient Kirghizstan there have occurred truly astonishing changes in the spiritual life of the people which until the revolution was at an extremely low level of cultural development. Thus, as recently as 1920 of 510,000 Kirghiz, 489,000 did not know how to read or write. During the years of Soviet power illiteracy has been completely eliminated in the republic. Today it has more than 1,600 general educational schools and 45 higher and secondary specialized educational institutions; more than 1 million people, or every third inhabitant of the republic, is covered by the various types of education.

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Soviet Kirghizstan is a model of an indestructible commonwealth of people-brothers. There are living together and working harmoniously on the territory of the republic Kirghiz and Russians, Uzbeks and Kazakhs, Dungans and Uyguri, and the representatives of many other nationalities who along with the Kirghiz enjoy the equal rights and opportunities defined by the Soviet Constitution.

"The nationalities policy which is being conducted by the CPSU in Kirghiziya, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Tajikistan," the First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Kirghiziya comrade T. U. Usubaliyev writes, "is close and understandable to the people of Xinjiang who are very attentive to the experience which has been gained in some of the nationalities questions and constructing socialist national statehood in the Soviet republics. This is connected with the fact that the indigenous inhabitants of Xinjiang represent either a part of the peoples whose basic mass lives in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan (Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tajiks), or have numerous former compatriots in the Soviet Union (Uygurs, Dungans, and so forth). In addition, historical economic and cultural relations have existed since far away times among the peoples of Xinjiang and the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan."⁴ When in 1949 the people's revolution was victorious in China, in Xinjiang it was greeted as a national holiday which opened a road into a bright future.

"The people hoped," Major General Zunun Taipov writes in his memoirs, "that the time of humiliation and oppression has gone into the past and that the People's Liberation Army of China had come not to subjugate and conquer, but to liberate, and that a time of equal rights and respect for the value of every nation was coming, and the Chinese administration's first steps strengthened these hopes. In 1949-1950 Chinese cadre workers in Xinjiang tried to show that they had come to Xinjiang as friends."⁵ Indeed, the first successes in the field of industry, agriculture, and culture in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region encouraged hope. They were achieved to a substantial degree thanks to the selfless fraternal aid of the peoples of the Soviet Union. It was precisely the USSR which provided China with modern technical documentation and supplied enterprises which were being built with modern equipment and materials. Deficit cargoes flowed in a continuous stream through Kirghiziya into China on a specially built highway. A large number of Soviet specialists worked in Xinjiang and with their active assistance the first detachments of the working class and of the technical intelligentsia were formed from among the different nationalities. During the period 1950-1955 many young men and women, the representatives of the various nationalities of Xinjiang received a higher education in the USSR; they also studied in Soviet Kirghizstan as well as in other republics of the Soviet East.

Increasingly solid economic and cultural relations were established among the peoples of Xinjiang and the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

"The successes gained during the first decade of the existence of the Chinese People's Republic convincingly demonstrated to the non-Chinese peoples that they were achieved only when the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party based themselves upon and acted on the basis of the universal laws of Marxism-Leninism and in close alliance with the CPSU and the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

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The failures and mishaps in the economy and other spheres of the life of China always set in when the policy of the Chinese Communist Party was determined by petty bourgeois nationalism and adventurism."⁶

The leaders of China long ago retreated from the Marxist-Leninist solution of the nationalities question which provides, first of all, for the rights of nations to self-determination. Peking refused this right to non-Han peoples, including Moslems. Recently on the pages of the periodical KHUNTSI a speech given by Zhou Enlai in 1957 was published. In it the right of nations to self-determination was announced to be "not in correspondence with the historical condition" of China. Instead of self-determination, the non-Han peoples acquired only a truncated territorial autonomy.

Beginning at the end of the 1950s, when the great power-hegemonistic platform of the Maoists took form, they began to openly carry out a chauvinistic course with respect to the non-Chinese nations and peoples. How pernicious this policy is can be seen from the example of Xinjiang. With regard to the area it occupies (17% of the territory of China) it is in first place among the other provinces and autonomous regions. Despite the fact that local national cadres at one time expressed themselves in favor of granting the Uygurs self-determination and proposed calling Xinjiang Uyguristan, the Maoist leadership completely ignored this demand of the Uygur people, granting it only the right of local national autonomy. The chauvinistic national policy of the Maoists in Xinjiang took on an especially unbridled character during the years of the "cultural revolution" which brought the Uygurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, and other peoples of this area ruin and hunger and outrages against the distinctive characteristics of their life and their cultural and religious convictions. It is not accidental that during 1959-1966 not less than 200,000 people moved from Xinjiang to the Soviet Union.

Speaking in December 1964 on the question of education in the village, Mao Zedong cynically stated: "There are so many people in China that several tens of thousands of people can be allowed to run away. Did not several tens of thousands of people leave Xinjiang? There are only a few people of this nationality--Kazakhs. It would not be a disaster if several million people were to leave China--only that after running away they abuse us."⁷ And this is the response of the "Great Helmsman" to the uprising of local peoples in Xinjiang and to their escape to the Soviet Union as a measure of salvation.

Refusing the non-Han peoples of the Chinese People's Republic the right to national self-determination, the Beijing leaders imposed upon them truncated territorial autonomy. Thus, for example, an administrative reorganization carried out in the autonomous region of Inner Mongolia of the Chinese People's Republic was executed in order to eliminate the Mongolian people as a large ethnic group by dissolving it among the Hans. The resettlement into this region of hundreds of thousands of Chinese has led to the fact that the size of the Mongolian population in it now comprises only 8.4% of the total number of people living in Mongolia.

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With the beginning of the "cultural revolution" in the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region, just as in other autonomous regions, the entire national intelligentsia and all of the party and state workers who were non-Chinese became the victims of savage reprisals and were sent to so-called "labor re-education schools"--the Chinese variant of concentration camps.⁸ The established staff workers--the Khantsi--became the masters of the situation. These areas are being flooded with masses of Chinese settlers, at the same time as their indigenous inhabitants are gradually being squeezed into relatively unsettled places. According to the testimony of the American scholar Owen Lattimore who in the early 1970s visited Xinjiang, the percentage of the Uygur population here had decreased by 1973 compared with 1949 from 80,000 to 50,000, while the number of Chinese had increased during this time from 200,000 to 2,800,000 people (according to other data, 6 million Chinese are already living here). The English newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES noted not too long ago that Peking was planning to bring the population of its "northwestern district" to 100 million people. This means that an entire people--the Uyguri--stands before the threat of turning into an insignificant national minority on its own historical homeland. The process of the forcible assimilation of the non-Han peoples of China is moving ahead at full swing; this includes the Turkish speaking peoples of Xinjiang whom the Maoists are trying to deprive of their history and individuality by damaging the development of their culture in every possible way.

Xinjiang has served as a forepost of the Chinese military for a long time now. After the April revolution of 1978 in Afghanistan, it turned into a springboard for the secret and open struggle of the Maoist leadership against the Afghan and other peoples of the region. The Beijing authorities have completely stopped paying attention to the vital interests of the Uygur, Kazakh, Kirghiz, and other peoples of this multi-national region. Practically all of the able-bodied men and women are members of detachments of the so-called people's militia. One-fourth of the population of Xinjiang has been put under arms. It is not without good reason that popular demonstrations do not cease here. According to the reports of the foreign press, one of these demonstrations occurred, for example, in the spring of 1978 in the districts of Avat, Aksu, Kel'pin, and Uch-Turfan, and in October of the same year there were mass anti-Chinese demonstrations in Xinjiang. A wave of protest demonstrations against the policy of the Beijing leadership with regard to the youth which were being sent to the villages swept across all of China in 1981, enveloping Xinjiang. No matter how much Maoist propaganda is camouflaging it today, the policy of oppression and arbitrariness is encountering growing resistance both from the Chinese and from the non-Chinese people of the Chinese People's Republic who are seeking to have their national and civil rights respected.

A sharp interest in Islam has suddenly arisen today in China. Propagandistic publications, programs, and the radio designed for foreign, above all, Moslem countries abound in materials about the "happy life of the peoples of China who profess Islam"--the Dungans, Uygurs, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Kirghiz, Tajiks, and others. True, the events of recent years are mentioned hurriedly--the mocking of things sacred to Islam during the period of the "cultural revolution" and the barbaric persecution by the Khunvey'in of believers in Moslem areas--the Xinjiang-Uygur autonomous region, and the provinces of Hebei, Henan, Yunnan, and Qinghai.

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But these timid admissions drown in a sea of materials about the "heavenly life" of the Moslem peoples of China. The Peking leadership allegedly cares only about the good of the Moslems. On every occasion the Beijing leaders hasten to demonstrate their "sympathies" for the 13 million Moslems who, according to the latest Chinese data, live in the Chinese People's Republic and for the entire Moslem world in general. All of this is only for show.

The present-day Peking leaders are trying to create the illusion that the history of their relations with the Moslems of China are beginning with a new page. But this attempt will scarcely succeed. For the entire history of the relationships between the great Han chauvinists and the non-Chinese peoples of the country in the past and the present-day nationality policy of Peking are too similar to one another.

Thus, it is becoming indisputable that in distorting and falsifying the history of the peoples of Central and Middle Asia, including the history of Kirghiziya, the Maoist leadership of China would like in this way to justify not only its frantic anti-Soviet course, but also its great power chauvinist policy in the nationalities question. However, the facts against which certain Chinese historians and Maoist propaganda are now warring irrefutably testify to the hopelessness of their attempts to support with some references to the past the clearly adventurous foreign and domestic policies of Beijing which is following in the wake of the forces of international imperialist reaction.

"Our class opponents," T. U. Usubaliyev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "would very much like to undermine the unity and solidarity of the Soviet peoples around its tested vanguard--the communist party,--and weaken the growing international prestige of the Soviet state. But the attempts of the ideologists of anti-communism are in vain. . . .

The communists and workers of Kirghizstan support with all their heart the peace-loving and genuinely Leninist foreign policy which is conducted by the Central Committee of the party. The delegation of the Communist Party of Kirghiziya fully supports and shares the words said by comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in the Summary Report about relations with the Chinese People's Republic."⁹

FOOTNOTES

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Summary Report of the Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress. . . ," p 75
2. PRAVDA, 27 February 1981
3. T. U. Usubaliyev, "Leninism--The Great Source of the Friendship and Fraternity of Peoples," Moscow, 1974, pp 383-385
4. T. U. Usubaliyev, "The Triumph of the Leninist Nationalities Policy in the USSR and Great Power Chauvinism in Contemporary China," Frunze, 1976, pp 25-26

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5. Z. Taipov, "In the Struggle for Freedom," PROSTOR, No 2, 1972
6. T. U. Usubaliyev, op. cit., pp 26-27
7. "Unvarnished Maoism. Some already known, and also previously unpublished in the Chinese press statements by Mao Zedong," Moscow, 1980, p 253
8. T. U. Usubaliyev, op. cit., p 28
9. PRAVDA, 27 February 1981

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BLOC-WIDE IDEOLOGICAL COORDINATION DESCRIBED

Moscow VOPROSY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 47, 1981 pp 3-10

[Article by V. A. Rylach, graduate student at Kiev University: "Toward the Question of the Ideological Cooperation of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the Socialist Commonwealth Countries"]

[Excerpts] The development of the ideological cooperation of the countries of the socialist commonwealth has gone through definite stages of maturity. Thus, while at the early stages of the development of relations between the Marxist-Leninist parties there occurred, as a rule, only bilateral forms of cooperation, at the present time there has developed a stable mechanism of multilateral cooperation between the ruling parties of the socialist commonwealth countries.

The strategic line and the prospects for ideological cooperation are worked out at multilateral and bilateral meetings of the general and first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Marxist-Leninist parties which, as a rule, take place every year. Thus, the high level meetings in the Crimea which took place in 1978 made an important contribution to strengthening the interaction of the fraternal countries and parties in accomplishing their domestic and international tasks. The long-term cooperation of the socialist states and their ruling parties, including ideological cooperation, was at the center of the attention of the participants in these meetings.

Since 1973 conferences have regularly been held of the secretaries of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties who run ideological and international affairs. At these conferences detailed analyses are made of the prospects for ideological cooperation and concrete joint measures are mapped out in the field of party ideological work. A Moscow conference (December 1973) initiated the regular meetings of ideological workers on this level. Its participants exchanged the work experience of the parties in the ideological field, discussed a further deepening of ideological cooperation, and expressed the hope of developing multilateral cooperation along with a deepening of bilateral relations.

The conclusions of the Moscow conference helped to improve the ideological work of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the communist education of the workers and in propagandizing the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the comprehensive achievements of socialism. The conference emphasized the necessity for a resolute rebuff to bourgeois ideology and to the ideological diversions of the Maoists against the countries of the socialist commonwealth.

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To date there have been six conferences of the Central Committee secretaries which have worked on the above questions: Moscow (1973), Prague (1975), Warsaw (1976), Sofia (1977), Budapest (1978), and Berlin (1979). On the basis of a detailed discussion of the important problems of ideological work and of a friendly exchange of experience, these conferences made a substantial contribution to perfecting the ideological cooperation of the fraternal parties. Thus, speaking about the Berlin (1979) Conference of the Secretaries of the CCs of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the Socialist Commonwealth Countries, the member of the Politburo of the CC CPSU and secretary of the CC CPSU comrade M. A. Suslov emphasized: "New and useful steps in expanding ideological cooperation were taken by the Conference of Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries on international and ideological matters which took place in July of this year." At this conference especial attention was given to cooperation by the socialist countries in the field of studying and developing the theoretical and practical problems of socialism and the new phenomena and tendencies of the contemporary world.

The collective development of ideological positions by the sides within the framework of a single world view consists in finding the optimal variant of an ideologically agreed upon policy. Only then does ideological unity become a factor in the unity of action of the parties and the socialist states.

The methodological approach to achieving unity of action through elucidation and permitting theoretical disagreements on the basis of Marxism was worked out by V. I. Lenin. "If we do not wish under the name of 'unity' to present the working class with a formless confusion of the most diverse elements," he wrote, "if we wish real unity of work, then the first mandatory step toward this has to be an elucidation of 'points of difference.' Let 'points of difference' be accurately clarified with the help of a 'general exchange of opinion,' and then it will become clear: is it possible to speak about some practical steps toward unification."

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CONTINUING NEED TO COMBAT PETTY BOURGEOIS INFLUENCES SEEN

Kiev VOPROSY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 47, 1981 pp 55-61

[Article by A. Migashova, graduate student at Kiev University: "The Essence of Philistine, Petty Bourgeois Ideology and Psychology and Its Manifestation During the Crisis Years of the 1960s in the Czechoslovakian SSR"]

[Excerpts] The struggle against philistine, petty bourgeois ideology is an important direction of the ideological work which is being performed by the communists and workers' parties of the countries of the socialist commonwealth under present-day conditions. As was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, along with the growth of material wealth, it is important to ensure a corresponding rise in the ideological and political and cultural levels of people and to teach them to judiciously make use of the material and spiritual possibilities which are possessed by society.

Under specific conditions manifestations of philistine, petty bourgeois ideology and psychology and survivals of the past, if they are not rebuffed, can be used by anti-socialist elements for anti-communist purposes. Adapting to the new historical conditions of the conflict between the opposed social systems, bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologists are putting forward conceptions with increasing frequency which have the task of influencing the consciousness and behavior of the working masses of both the capitalist and the socialist countries, and of distracting their attention from urgent social problems. This gives rise to a necessity of a punctual and effective unmasking of the methods of bourgeois ideology and of its slanderous propaganda.

The events of the 1960s in Czechoslovakia were an example of this kind of revival of petty bourgeois ideology and philistine psychology under socialism. "At the new stage of the construction of socialism," O. Moshner has noted, "which separates the stage of the construction of the foundations of socialism from the stage of constructed socialism there was no solution and could not be any solution to the problem of the attitude toward the generation of 'classic' petty bourgeois, the former small and medium property owners; a more important question was being solved here: how to prevent petty bourgeois ideology, psychology, and morality from developing, and how to ensure the systematic waging by ideological and educational means of the struggle for the socialist way of life which is incompatible with the petty bourgeois way of life and with the petty bourgeois 'model' of socialism."

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In 1958 the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia pointed to the danger of a large proportion of the petty bourgeois element in the social-class structure of society and to the necessity for aggressive and well-directed ideological and political work among those who had their origins in the petty bourgeoisie.* However, the decisions of this congress were not put into practice with sufficient consistency. As a result, as early as the beginning of the 1960s the former petty bourgeois became active with his own political program and worldview. "Errors and shortcomings," it was noted at a plenum of the CC CP of Czechoslovakia (December 1970), "resulted with us in all the more serious consequences since numerous petty bourgeois strata both in the village and among the urban population had a large weight in the social composition of our society. These strata represented a developed political current with old traditions, a strong organization, and a clearly expressed petty bourgeois ideology of nationalism, Mazarykism, and social democracy which was deep rooted and which penetrated the consciousness of a certain segment of the working class." Politically and culturally, for many years these circles oriented themselves toward the West. In Slovakia the situation was made more complicated by the fact that there were strong religious survivals there.

Social democratic traditions in Czechoslovakia were an important factor in the spread of petty bourgeois ideology in the country. The Social Democratic Party was one of the most influential organizations in bourgeois Czechoslovakia. During the crisis years (1968-1969) the representatives of the former petty bourgeoisie who comprised a large proportion in the ranks of the individual political parties in the National Front of the Czechoslovakian SSR** actively helped the counter-revolutionary forces and the transformation of these parties into opposition ones. The new programs of these parties denied the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and made attempts to restore the previous bourgeois democratic system of state power. Even before 1968 a group of the right social democracy was formed in the country. Their goal was the recreation of a social democratic party whose ranks were supposed to be filled chiefly from among those who had been expelled from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the youth. The right-wing social democratic groups based themselves on the counter-revolutionary emigra-

* In bourgeois Czechoslovakia the petty bourgeoisie comprised one-third of the country's population. After the socialist revolution, the bourgeoisie, including the petty bourgeoisie, was deprived of its economic and political advantages, but it still comprised a substantial social strata of society. In 1969 the Czechoslovakian SSR had 300,000 representatives of the former bourgeoisie, including people from bourgeois families, tens of thousands of former employees of the bourgeois state apparatus and members of the disbanded bourgeois parties, and 2.5 million representatives of the former petty bourgeoisie. ("Socialist International Relations and Their Critics," Moscow, 1975, p 34).

** In addition to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the National Front of the Czechoslovakian SSR contained the Czechoslovakian Socialist Party, the Czechoslovakian People's Party, the Slovak Freedom Party, and the Slovak Revival Party.

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tion and on the support of West European social democratic parties.

The theses of the Czechoslovakian bourgeois philosopher and political leader T. G. Mazaryk served as the ideological source of petty bourgeois ideology. This is explained by the fact that the ideology of Mazarykism is the most adequate discussion of the worldview of the petty bourgeois strata of society. At its basis lies a philosophical and sociological "validation" of a critique of Marxism. This ideology still fully camouflaged its bourgeois content by means of social demagoguery. In addition, the cult of Mazaryk as an "outstanding" thinker and diplomat had not been fully unmasked in Czechoslovakia. The revival of the ideology of Mazarykism served the right-wing socialist forces during the crisis years as an ideological weapon for their counter-revolutionary goals.

The situation was also complicated by the fact that ideological work in the party into which petty bourgeois elements had penetrated was underestimated. An aggressive struggle was not waged against them, and this led to a strengthening of an ideology which was alien to Marxism. The underestimation of party ideological work, it was noted at a plenum of the CC CP of Czechoslovakia (December 1970), "leads by law first to attempts to 'improve' or 'perfect' socialism, to the replacement of internationalism with nationalism, and then to a cultivation of the ideals of petty bourgeois consumer socialism and to the creation of untrue myths about socialist reality, issuing, finally, in a denial of and trampling under foot of socialism altogether."

Added to the above-noted shortcomings in the party's ideological work in the early 1960s were difficulties in the economic field. An overestimation of the country's real possibilities when the economic program for the Third Five-Year plan was worked out was reflected in the fulfillment of the five-year plan for economic development and in the solution of other problems of the economic life of the Czechoslovakian SSR.

These circumstances gave rise in certain social strata (especially among the intelligentsia) to skepticism regarding the advantages of socialism. Ideals of a "human" "democratic socialism," of a "socialism with a human face," various models of a "consumer socialism," and so forth began to be advanced and disseminated.

The measure of all things was presumed to be the abstract man, man in general. In reality, this was the petty bourgeois elevated to an ideal. Disoriented by the means of mass information and propaganda, he proved to be the reserve which was used by the anti-socialist forces for their own ends. The petty bourgeois was needed by them only for the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia. The petty bourgeois "affirms" in his own way certain sides and aspects of social existence, and individual problems and shortcomings which are to be met in social life. Not knowing how to explain what is occurring in concrete reality, he gets lost in a vulgar apology for it. In his life and work he tries to avoid any difficulty and expenditure of his own strength and energy, and marks out for himself a path in life which is easily discernible in the near future. Active in finding solutions for petty little matters and little questions, the petty bourgeois shows an indecisiveness, vagueness, and even passivity in everything that is genuinely social

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and of society. The petty bourgeois was needed by the counter-revolutionary forces as a socially indifferent individual, full of indifference, unconcern, "principled" non-intervention, false optimism, and individualistic consciousness.

The vitality of the petty bourgeoisie and of petty bourgeois ideology and the possibility that they could appear or even be revived in a socialist society is explained by their plasticity, the property of adapting to changing conditions. The petty bourgeoisie is dangerous because it does not always openly come out against socialism, does not resist it, and outwardly even agrees with everything. The petty bourgeois always maneuvers skillfully, performs machinations, adapts to circumstances, keeps his peace, fawns upon the "powerful," not forgetting at the same time to gradually and unnoticeably have a negative influence on the revolutionary program of transformations in society. At a convenient moment he is ready to influence the political relations in society in the spirit of a petty bourgeois.

Petty bourgeois ideology lives as a parasite on the love for man, humanism, and general human values. Its humanistic ideal is abstract and utopian, and it remains an empty phrase incapable of influencing the real course of events. When this phraseology is given out as the last word of Marxism, as the personification of "real," "humane," and "democratic socialism," it becomes a means of the revision of Marxism aimed against the socialist system and the communist movement and its scientific ideology.

The experience of our country shows that in those places where the party's ideological work is weakened and where an aggressive struggle is not waged against petty bourgeois ideology and psychology, the latter become a serious danger for socialism, and one of the instruments in imperialist policy and propaganda. For this reason, as was emphasized at the October (1972) Plenum of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia, "it is essential to reach the kind of level of socialist consciousness in the workers with which they will be able to correctly orient themselves in any situation and to distinguish real values from various pseudo-values and will learn to deeply understand exactly what it is necessary to selflessly defend, strengthen, and develop so as not to become the victim of ideological diversions which are being carried out by anti-communist forces." The historical experience of the construction of socialism in Czechoslovakia has shown that the revival of petty bourgeois philistine ideology and psychology can be caused by a violation of the economic, socio-political, and ideological-spiritual principles of the socialist transformation of society. The eradication of the various forms of the manifestation of the petty bourgeoisie presupposes an improvement of economic life and the social and political sphere of the life of society, and the performance of aggressive and well-directed ideological and political educational work by the communist party.

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NATIONAL

ALIENATION UNDER SOCIALISM DISCUSSED

Kiev VOPROSY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 49, 1981 pp 24-30

[Article by P. Yu. Saukh, docent, Ukrainian Institute for Waterworks Engineers:
"Some Aspects of the Problem of Overcoming Alienation Under Socialism"]

[Excerpts] The forms of social consciousness, particularly morality, are characterized by a definite inertia. For this reason remnants of the capitalist forms of alienation and survivals of private property ideology sometimes find an expression in a number of social phenomena. Although their "proportion" is negligible compared with the moral values which have been built up by our society, nevertheless against the background of socialist moral relationships these survivals are the cause of considerable pain. Most Soviet people not only criticize them from the positions of communist morality, but show an active intolerance for them. However, when they encounter violations of moral norms certain people still turn for help to religion. Such psychological situations are of a profoundly personal character and are only outwardly similar to alienation. The reasons for them can be different: the escape of one or another human passion from the control of its bearer, the absolutization of a specific kind of rules of behavior, a lack of correspondence between the results of the purely personal actions of an individual to plan goals and so forth.

Speculating with these phenomena, bourgeois philosophers assert there exist new forms of alienation under socialism and communism. In addition they refer to the fact that allegedly any division of labor and every state in its very nature engender alienation and, more than that, themselves are realized alienation. For example, the not unknown "interpreter" of Marxism A. Shaff in his book "Marxism and the Human Individual" asks the question: cannot alienation arise from other sources besides private property. Despite Marx's proposition that the abolishment of alienation is possible only by means of the destruction of private property, A. Shaff asserts that in socialist countries alienation is preserved even in the economic sphere, since the division of labor and market relationships continue to exist. As a proof he tries to use the facts of the functioning under socialism of public and state institutes. He regards the state as an "apparatus of violence" and looks upon it as an "alienating force."

The historical practice of the construction of the new society in the Soviet Union and in the fraternal countries of socialism irrefutably testifies to the falsehood of such assertions. The socialist organization of society not only

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helps to eliminate the capitalist alienation of labor and its ideological recidivists, excluding the appearance of new forms of alienation, but is also the only possible and reliable means of preventing phenomena which bring the individual and society definite damage.

For bourgeois sociologists, particularly A. Shaff, there does not exist any exploiter state and proletarian state--there is the state in general as an apparatus of violence. Meanwhile, K. Marx convincingly proved that the state under the conditions of an exploitative society is only an illusory collectivity; in reality, it defends the interests of the ruling class which present the latter in the form of general human interest. Since this "universal" is for the working masses only an illusory form of community and is in contradiction with their real interests, the state appears as an alien, independent force which stands outside of them. For this reason the proletariat, "even if his dominion results in the . . . destruction of the entire old social forms and of dominion in general--must first of all win political power for himself so that this class, in its turn, can present its interest as universal, which it is compelled to do in the first moment."

The rule of the working class objectively corresponds to the interests of the exploited and the oppressed. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat provides genuine democracy for all workers. Socialist democracy receives a further development under the all-popular state in which all socially important issues of political, economic, and social life are discussed and decided with the active participation of the workers.

Socialist democracy finds its expression in the work of the Soviets of People's Deputies--the most representative bodies of popular power--, and also of the system of public organizations.

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NATIONAL

ETHNIC RELATIONS IN THE WORKPLACE SURVEYED

Kiev VOPROSY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 48, 1981 pp 20-26

[Article by N. S. Kavunets, graduate student at the Kiev Polytechnical Institute: "The Labor Collective--The Social and International Cell of Soviet Society"]

[Excerpt] Under mature socialism a further development of the productive forces, the planned orientation of production, and also the opening up of new areas are accompanied by social shifts and by a strengthening of population migration. As the results of the 1979 USSR population census showed, the relative population displacements to the north which have been caused by the settlement of resource rich underpopulated areas are very great. The process of the settlement of the Tyumen' North is a characteristic example. The migration shifts lead to a further deepening of the national heterogeneity of labor collectives.

Thus, the following factors which determine the emergence and development of multi-national labor collectives can be singled out: the internationalization of the economic life of the Soviet nations, deep changes in the social structure of the union and autonomous republics, an increase in the national detachments of the working class, and intensified population migration.

Multi-national collectives are a lawful phenomenon in countries whose population is made up of different nations and peoples.

Under capitalism the ruling class incites in every way it can and artificially maintains national and inter-ethnic disputes and conflicts and tries to inculcate in people of different nationalities a spirit of competition, suspicion, and enmity. Only the victory of the socialist revolution creates real conditions for the affirmation of the principles of genuine collectivism and leads to the disappearance of the national discord which was cultivated by the possessing classes. New socialist qualities are formed in the workers and relations of friendship and comradely mutual assistance develop in the socialist multi-national labor collectives. Work in multi-national collectives has taken firm root in the life of Soviet people. Thus, 78 percent of the questioned metallurgical workers of Ukrainian, Russian, and other nationalities of the Dnepropetrovsk Metallurgical Plant imeni G. I. Petrovskiy and of the plant imeni K. Libknecht gave a high evaluation to work in multi-national collectives.

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Multi-national labor collectives promote the strengthening of the solidarity of all of the nations and peoples of our country. Solidarity finds its manifestation in the close interweaving and blending of Soviet patriotism and internationalism, in the creation of a single national economic complex, and in the beneficial interpenetration of national cultures.

The international solidarity of Soviet society is to a substantial extent determined by the success in developing an internationalist consciousness in the members of a labor collective.

Joint production work does not lead to the automatic formation of internationalist convictions in workers. In any collective moral and material encouragement for workers in the process of labor activity is connected not with the national membership of the subject of production, but exclusively with the amount and quality of his labor. It is important that a healthy psychological climate be created in every collective and that the worker feels himself to be the master and actively participates in production management and public affairs. It is precisely this kind of atmosphere of friendly work and creative search which is being created, for example, by the party organization of the Karaganda Mine imeni the 60th Anniversary of Great October where the representatives of 60 nationalities work--Kazakhs, Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Germans, Poles, Tatars, and others. During the course of a sociological study of 266 questioned miners, 130 stated that, in their opinion, the collective helps to increase labor discipline and labor productivity; 65 people believed that the collective helps in overcoming shortcomings and with a critical attitude toward one's work; 71 believed that the collective has a positive influence on the formation of a scientific worldview and on increasing responsibility for one's work.

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NATIONAL

FUNCTIONS, PROBLEMS OF SOVIET FAMILY DESCRIBED

Kiev VOPROSY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 49, 1981 pp 105-110

[Article by N. N. Kovtun, senior instructor; G. I. Kosenko, docent, Kiev Technological Institute of the Food Industry; and I. V. Morozov, docent, Orenburg Agricultural Institute: "On the Formation of Marital Family Relations Under the Conditions of Developed Socialism"]

[Excerpt] As a result of the socialist revolution and the fundamental reorganization of the entire life of society a new socialist family has developed whose activities are based on public ownership of the means of production and personal participation in socially useful labor. As a result, the motives for entering into marriage have changed qualitatively. The material interest in conjugal life is negligible, and marriage by calculation is becoming an increasingly rare phenomenon in socialist society. A study of the motives for marriage which was conducted under the leadership of Z. I. Faynburg covered 871 students, 1,771 workers, 453 employees, and 316 engineering and technical workers. The vast majority of the respondents named love as the decisive condition for marriage. [9, 185-186]

V. I. Lenin saw one of the tasks of socialism in "women workers taking more and more part in the management of public enterprises and in the management of the state." [3, Vol 40, 157-158]. Today in the Supreme Soviet USSR there are 475 women, or 31.3 percent of the deputies, while in the local Soviets there are more than 1 million, or 49 percent of the deputies. [6, 87] The Soviet woman has become equal with men culturally also. Whereas before the revolution 88 percent of the women were illiterate, today women make up 58 percent of our diplomaed specialists.

The USSR Constitution places upon citizens the duty of caring for the education of their children, preparing them for socially useful labor, and raising worthy members of socialist society. At the same time, the Constitution gives children the duty of caring for their parents and helping them. [4, 25]

The most important functions of the family under today's conditions are the following:

--economic. Under capitalism the family is an economic unit of society, and a cell for the accumulation and safe-keeping of capital. The source for the existence of the Soviet family is made up above all of the income received for labor

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for the good of society, and also of monies which are allotted by the state from the social funds. The socialist family has been preserved as an economic unit since it performs such functions. It has its own budget and its own income and expenditure items;

--the function of continuing the species. The birth of a child is the private matter of a family, but from the point of view of the state it takes on social importance, since every child will be in the future a creator of material and spiritual goods and a defender of his homeland. The need for children occupies an important place in the structure of the needs of the contemporary family.

The results of the 1979 All-Union population census testify to the concrete realization of the function of the continuation of the species. Of 86.3 million families, 29.7 percent consist of 2 people, 28.9 percent of 3, 23 percent of 4, and 18.4 percent of 5 or more people. The average size of a family in the country as a whole came to 3.5 people, with 3.3 being the size among the urban population, and 3.8 people being the size among the rural population [7, 17]; that is, more than half of the families do not in fact reproduce themselves. This vital problem is a subject of study by demographers;

--the educational function of the family. The personal happiness of an individual, the successful arrangement of his life, the birth and education of children, the mutual existence of generations, the transmission of culture, and the inimitable emotional and psychological atmosphere of love and devotion which are so important for the development of human individuality--all of this is connected with the family. While considering the full importance of the educational role of pre-school institutions, of the school, and so forth, nevertheless it has to be admitted that society has not yet created an institution which can be compared to the family for the diversity of the educational functions it performs.

The socialist family is organized on democratic principles, its members have equal rights, and they are economically independent of one another. The enrichment of intra-family life, the change in the relationship between the family and the individual, and the freedom of choice and decision for each of the spouses is raising many problems of family relationships in a new way. The maintenance of the family's internal equilibrium has become a matter first of all of the family members themselves.

Love, matrimonial fidelity, and moral duty are subjective concepts. The reasons for the disintegration of families may be the most diverse ones and consist not only in a lack of feelings and of common views, but also of other factors which are much more profound and complex and which have not yet been fully studied.

In Russia in 1913 there were only 5,000 divorces (.03 divorces per 10,000 people). This is explained by the fact that divorces were prohibited by law and were allowed only in extreme and exceptional cases. In recent years the divorce coefficient (per 10,000 people) has reached 1.1 in the Central Asian and Transcaucasian republics, 2.9 in the Ukrainian SSR, 4.5 in the Baltic republics, 5.1 in Moscow, and 5.6 in Leningrad. [10, 162-163]. The large amount of population

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migration, the opening up of new areas, and the influx of population into large industrial centers have an effect upon the divorce level.

In socialist society the principle of preserving and strengthening the family is directed above all against frivolous and unjustified divorces. However, divorce should not always be regarded as an evil. "If only marriage which is based on love is moral, it remains such only as long as love continues to exist," F. Engels wrote. "But the duration of a feeling . . . is very different with different individuals . . . and once it has completely dried up or has been displaced by a new passionate love, divorce then becomes a boon for both sides and for society. It is only necessary to save people from the necessity of dragging themselves through the unnecessary dirt of the divorce process." [1, Vol 21, 84-85] Since in the process of the development of the family there occurs the destruction of pre-marriage relationships and the creation of new ones, the reasons for divorces have to be looked for above all in the changes which occur in the development of social relations, of the spouses as individuals, and in the family in all of its aspects.

Basing ourselves on a number of studies which have been conducted in recent years, let us examine the real tendencies in the field of marriage relations, concentrating our attention on the role which is played by the moral needs of the spouses, and their moral and socio-psychological adaptation to each other. Of 350 questioned workers and employees, 65.2 percent of the men and 78.1 percent of the women entered into marriage for love and for common interests and views. [8, 49] As a result of a questionnaire by the authors of an article conducted with 400 pairs of students in the city of Kiev who were married in 1979, the basic motives for this event were named as love and a community of interests (85 percent of the men and 85.1 percent of the women).

Love is an important foundation for entering into marriage, but it is an insufficient guarantee of stability for the contemporary form of family relationships. There are a large number of factors which strengthen love in the family, or, on the contrary, destroy it. For example, that which before marriage was not obligatory obtains essential and rigid contours in marriage. Behavior becomes primarily regulated and the mutual compensation for errors and the concealment of shortcomings becomes more difficult than before marriage. The materials of many studies show that the social maturity of those entering in marriage increases the probability that it will go on without crisis since it softens the contradiction between expectations and marital reality. This makes it possible to conclude that not only love, but also the social and psychological nearness of spouses is a stabilizing factor of marriage. The concept of matrimonial adaptation includes the everyday, emotional, moral, psychological, and cultural adaptation to one another of the spouses. However, during the course of family life frequently feelings of love, attraction, and mutual understanding undergo an evolution both in the direction of strengthening and in the direction of cooling and even alienation. A normal path of development for a family is possible on the condition that the ties which are based on mutual adaptation are stronger than other internal and external tendencies. Studies show that the motives which lead to the dissolution of marriage basically divide up into two groups: insufficient

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efforts by the spouses to maintain feeling on the necessary level; specific defects in the marriage which occur before or after its conclusion. The dissolution of the marriage can also be defined as a result of the spiritual or physical imperfection of people and their mutual relationships.

The largest number of divorce actions, as the statistical data shows, occur for the standard motive of dissimilarity of personalities. The special feature of this motive is that it is easier to conceal behind it other negative factors which serve as the true motives for divorces. It is probably for this reason that there is a definite standard of divorce processes which makes it difficult to study the problem and seek ways of solving it.

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